l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

of the *sawahs* can be considered as communal lands, with a part of them being divided annually among the core villagers in the form of villager's shares, and the remainder used to cover offering expenses. Besides the agrarian holdings the two series of graveyards (*sĕma*) to the east and the west of the eastern *desa* gate attract special attention. They all belong to the *desa*, though the names *sĕma tĕruna* and *sĕma dĕha* (also called *pĕbajangan*) might lead one to suspect that the boys' and girls' associations owned their own graveyards.

Tĕnganan's forum is the *bale agung*. As elsewhere in southern Bali, the long pavilion is used for religious purposes,[1] but in Tĕnganan village meetings are held there as well. True, such meetings must also be considered more or less as religious ceremonies, both because of the ritual followed and because of the religious task of the *desa*, but when the occasion presents itself secular affairs, too, are discussed there. In Tĕnganan, as in other villages in Karangasĕm, the gigantic pavilion, which is also called *pura pusĕh*, is a very model of sound construction. The stone foundation is no less than one hundred sixty-five feet long and sixteen feet wide. The heavy sugar-palm fibre roof rests on twenty-eight massive columns joined together by crossbeams. Above one of these beams there is a carving of a seated animal figure, and underneath it a chronogram (*chandra sĕngkala*) with the caption: "Completed this day, Wednesday-Wage of the week of Mĕnahil, the sixth day of the tenth month, 1806 *Çāka*". The pavilion was rebuilt forty-three years after the great fire mentioned in the village constitution and eight years after the second fire of 1798 *Çāka* (1876 A.D.), and so is almost fifty years old. Neither the woodwork nor the roof has needed any repair in that period. A part of the pavilion, between the third and fifth pair of columns, is partitioned off as a storeroom (*gĕdong bale agung*), but the walls are removable and are taken out for meetings. At such times all the *desa* possessions stored there are put out on display, and it is there that the *desa* officials are seated. The *desa* possessions consist of the various requisites for offerings and tobacco, but also, and more particularly, of the *desa* strongboxes (*biduk*) filled to the brim with coins, and

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

344 the village records. The ceremonial swings used at certain annual festivals are also kept in the *bale agung*, which is decorated with pig's skulls. It should moreover be mentioned that all *desa* members are required to sleep in the *bale agung* for three nights each in the first (Kasa) and the fifth (Kalima) month and one night in the tenth month (Kadasa), at which time the *dewa pusĕh* resides there. The rice from the village *sawahs* is kept in a separate granary.

To the north of the *bale agung* is the *bale kulkul*, where the village's signal block hangs. To the east of the pavilion's north end are the *sanggah uduan*, an offering niche overshadowed by a white frangipane tree (*jĕpun*), and nearby it the *bale* (*pĕ*)*kĕncha*, the 'courthouse'. To the west of the southern end is a spacious kitchen (*paon*) and pantry (*gĕdong paon*).

In a large number of Balinese *desas* the *bale agung is* located inside or in front of the *pura desa*, which is frequently joined together with the *pura pusĕh*. This is not the case in Tĕnganan, but the fact that the *bale agung* is also sometimes called *pusĕh* indicates that the pavilion forms a single unit with the *pura pusĕh*, even though the former is inside the southern gate of the village, while the latter is in the woods beyond the northern *desa* gate.

346 The temple which is most important in the eyes of the people after the *bale agung* and the *pura pusĕh* is clearly the *pura pĕkuwon*. It is located just outside the southern *desa* gate and contains the shrines of origin of the various *desa* classes. In this connection it is interesting to note that there are four village *paibons* or *dadias*, in the northwest, the southwest, the southeast, and the northeast. In the rest of Bali *paibon* is another name for the shrine of origin of a clan, but no one seems to know what origin these four *paibons* in Tĕnganan commemorate.[2]

There are a number of other temples with various names: the *pura pĕnataran*, *pura mĕlayu*, *pura gaduh*, *pura pĕtung*, *pura pĕngulon swarga*, *pura rajapurana*, and so forth. The *pura dalĕm*, like the *pura pĕngakan luh*, is merely an offering platform of river stone. The *pura pudak* and *pura bale bang*, though lying within the *desa* territory of Tĕnganan, belong to the inhabitants of the neighbouring

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

desa of Ngis. The *pura anyĕr* or 'new temple', the residence of Batara Dalĕm Pĕngastulan, to the north of the *pura pusĕh* in the woods, is likewise a place of worship for persons from Ngis, as is the *pura pusĕh*.

The *desa* also has several bathing places, of which the *kaja-kauh* one and the one in the Panděk River are of importance from a religious point of view. The pen for the sacrificial buffaloes is beside the *kaja-kauh* bathing place.

THE BANJAR

The second territorial legal community is the *banjar*, which in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan is not an association competing with the *desa* in importance, as it is in the rest of southern Bali, but on the contrary is largely subordinated to the *desa* and in its service. Within Tĕnganan proper there are three *banjars*, Kauh, Tĕngah, and Pande. The *banjar* of Tĕngah is divided into two wards, Tĕngah Kĕlodan and Tĕngah Kajanan. The boundaries are determined by the *desa* sidestreets. Whereas the *desa* has the form of an association with a varying but restricted number of members, the *banjar* includes all inhabitants.

The task of the *banjar*, like that of the *desa*, is partly religious and partly secular. The *banjars* must see to it that the great *usaba* festivals of the *desa* take place in an orderly way, and in that regard they must follow all the commands of the *desa*. Moreover the *banjars* make their own offerings in the *bales banjar*, which are not assembly halls as in the rest of southern Bali, since the *banjars* do not hold meetings in the village proper.

Other tasks of the *banjars* are the cleansing of the *desa*, especially the water conduits (the whole *desa* is cleaned up for the *usaba* in the month of Kalima) and the maintenance of the streets and inclines. The proponents of the theory that the *banjar* was originally nothing more nor less than a cremation association find no support for their hypothesis in Karangasĕm, where there are a large number of *banjars* with members who do not practise cremation. The property of the *banjars* consists of their buildings, offering requisites, and small sums in cash.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

(*dalem*), which are themselves, those who live within the palace; 565
and the "outsiders" (*djaba*), the common people. From the point of view of the great majority of the Balinese, this is a fallacy, since it is the nobility who are the real outsiders. The feudalism of the Hindu aristocracy was curiously only superimposed on the Balinese patriarchal communism, and centuries of feudal rule have failed to do away with the closed independence of the village communities. Thus the nobility is left devoid of voice where it concerns the inner affairs of the community, despite the Pungawas and Perbekels they appoint to keep an eye on the villagers.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

One moonlight night the "tock tock" of a *kulkul* attracted us 621
towards the temple of the wind-swept, ancient town of Kinta- 623
mani, on the rim of the foggy crater of the Batur. On the road we joined an old man carrying a torch who informed us they were calling the village members to the monthly meeting in the *balé agung*, the "great house," the council hall of the community. It [344] was a long shed with a raised platform running along its entire length and with a thick thatch of sugar-palm fibre, faintly lit by a primitive oil lamp. There sat the village Elders, cross-legged, in two rows facing each other, talking quietly, each in his allotted place and carefully avoiding the empty seats of those who had not yet arrived. Slowly the platform filled up. When everybody was present, the old headman of the council called the roll while two assistants went around with flashlights to see that everybody was properly dressed: wearing the ceremonial breast-cloth, and a kris.

Thus the Elders of the old villages like Kintamani meet at each 623
full moon to partake of a ceremonial banquet in the company of 574
their gods. The assistants distributed the food from a large basket, placing a heap of parched rice with a ring of beans around it in front of each man, served by a specified ritual number of handfuls. After the distribution of food was over, the oldest member sat at the extreme end of the *balé agung* in an attitude of prayer and recited a rousing speech to invite the ancestral spirits, the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

or *bandjar* to act as mediators for a friendly settlement. Disputes concerning ricefields or irrigation water are settled by the council of a special agricultural society, the *subak*. Should it become necessary to adopt a strong decision, the village council votes for a verdict.

In any case the village heads leave no stone unturned for a quick settlement of the affair to prevent its becoming involved in a legal court procedure, which is always distasteful to them, and it is only as a last resort, when all other resources have failed and passions are very much aroused, that the Balinese will appeal to the official high tribunal, the *kerta*.

The repugnance of the people against having to appeal to the *kerta* is only part of the Balinese policy of keeping the princes from interfering too much in their affairs. The *kertas* are the courts of the princes and they are generally composed of three Brahmanic priests who act as judges. They are assisted by a number of *kantjas*, "lawyers," and a scribe.

Trials take place in a special shed, built over a high stone or brick platform. The Kerta Gosa, the court house of Klungkung, one of the inevitable sights of Bali, is already famous because of the lurid paintings that cover the entire ceiling, depicting the punishments that await a law-breaker in hell. The court house is beautifully decorated; two stone serpents flank the stairs that lead to the platform where the judges sit on great gilt chairs.

A trial must be conducted with the greatest dignity and restraint. There are rules for the language employed, the behaviour of the participants, and the payment of trial expenses. It is interesting that court procedure resembles that of cockfights in its rules and terminology. On the appointed day the plaintiff and the defendant must appear properly dressed, with their witnesses, and their cases and declarations carefully written down. An absentee or one whose case is badly stated loses his suit. The *kantjas* read the statements of each party and then those of the witnesses in their successive order. No one is allowed to speak unless he is addressed. Talking excessively or too loud, quarrel-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

533 621 bandjar, and they will reorganize their gamelan at once — everybody helping with equal enthusiasm. The old instruments are returned, new frames are made, and all the missing pieces are replaced.

To organize a new musical club a community first selects a head man and a treasurer. The new musicians are chosen from among the young men of the bandjar, who are directed by others with musical experience. It is an honour to belong to such a group, and the members are not paid, but themselves contribute, in whatever way they can, to the acquisition of the instruments. In the group there are even men who do not play, but who are content to carry the instruments from place to place.

533 534 621 [435] The cost of a fine set of instruments often amounts to quite a fortune. The estimated value of the gong Belaluan was put at about fifteen hundred guilders. The actual monetary expenses were paid in instalments, and even after four years of profitable playing for the hotel, there still remained four hundred guilders unpaid. Of this apparently exaggerated figure a considerable part goes to buy a good set of large gongs, which are no longer made and are now a rarity and at a premium. The Balinese can make the bars of the metallophones, but the large gongs came from Java, from Semarang, where the last great makers of gongs lived. The richly carved frames of teakwood covered with pure goldleaf are also expensive. In former times it was a favourite hobby of the princes to form large orchestras and play in them themselves, but they are not quite so prosperous now, and today the organizations are more often independent, and it is the community that owns the orchestra. In Bali the orchestra consists of the set of instruments rather than of a group of musicians who own their instruments, as it is understood among us. In their zeal for improvement, the group of Belaluan went even further; fine costumes were made for the players and a special house was built to store the instruments, a shed for rehearsals. They even undertook to finance the repairs of the little temple of the bandjar, a

[292] [344] 533 621

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

A study of customs pertaining to Twins in Bali

by

JANE BELO.

Part I

Description of the Ritual at Sukawanã, District of Kintamani, Bali.

On the night of September 18, 1933, twins were born to a woman of Sukawanã. When the family saw that the twins were a boy and a girl, they knew that this was a great wrong, that disaster had come upon their house and upon their village.

A brother of the father ran to the open place before the Balé Agung, the village temple. There he beat upon the *kul-kul*, the hollow wooden alarm, so that all the men of the village would come together to hear the direful news. And the sleeping villagers awoke in their tiny houses still warm with the dying coals of the evening fire, and came forth wrapped in their blankets, for at night it is bitter cold on the slopes of the Gunung Pĕnulisan.

One by one they approached and took their places in the Balé Sĕkãhã, the meeting place of the men. The ancient men, two Kĕbayan and four Bau, priests and rulers of the village, sat cross-legged on the South East side of the platform, for that is *kajã* and *luanang* in Sukawanã, the direction of the mountains, the abode of the gods, and the highest place. When it was known that Ni Jungir had given birth to twins, of which one was a boy and one a girl, the ancient men said, "that is *manak salah*", that is to have children in a wrong way. And it was

[P. 483]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

Now the priest rose, and the Balian, and the men and women of the village who had assembled to watch the proceedings. They turned to the entrance of the house-court, where, at the bottom of the stone runway leading down to the lower level of the street, stood the parents with the twins. Now at last they were to have a part in the ceremony.

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir had on all new clothes. (This was another expense of the day for them.) There in the street they had discarded the filthy clothes worn night and day during the forty-two days of their exile, and donned fresh bright batiks and crisp shirts. Ni Jungir carried her child in a new *slèndang*, and both twins were wrapped in clean white cloth. The parents knelt in the roadway. At the Balian's direction a woman relative sprinkled the four unclean ones with holy water, three times with the *lis*, three times with the *tĕgtĕg*. They were more doused than sprinkled, so thoroughly did she wet them with the purifying *toyă*. Then the clay pot which held the water was dropped and smashed behind the parents, scattering its remaining contents upon them [1]).

But not yet were the unfortunate ones sufficiently pure to enter the house-court where they had lived. They turned away, following the priest and the Balian towards the village temple, the Balé Agung. There they squatted at the foot of the steps which lead up to the temple gate — not allowed to go further until several other ceremonies should have been performed.

The priest entered the first court of the temple, where stand the two long buildings called Balé Agung, one used for the formal sittings of the village council at dark moon, the other at full moon. On the ground of the court, before the temple gate, the offerings were set out to the North, South, East, West and Center. But this time only fowls were used in the ceremony, the bigger offerings of pig and goat

[1]) This is called *ngĕlukat* in most villages in Bali, and is usual in the purification ceremonies for twins. But in Sukawană the word *ngĕlukat* was unknown, and the priest said this was part of the *mĕrayaschită*.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet—is the focus of the political community.[6]

To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infractions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will, and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters—for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

Bali OF7
Toradja OG11
Halmahera OH12
Buru OH8
Ceram OH9

[416 cont.]

Bl 344 The great importance of the village assembly hall, the balé agoeng, on Bali, especially in the old-fashioned villages, has already been mentioned in Chapter 2, "Family and Society."

T 344 346 776 On central Celebes the lobo is used to house the unmarried youths of the village and the village club, but primarily it is the spirit house where the spirits of the ancestors dwell and where the severed heads are brought.

H 344 On Halmahera the saboewa, a kind of council house in the center of the village serves for gatherings and festivities. On Br I 344 Buru the tilan is used chiefly for housing strangers. Community houses are also found in the villages on Flores, Timor, Leti, Timorlaut, etc.

C 344 346 778 On Ceram, especially western Ceram, a similar house has a special character. Meeting houses, bailéo, are also found in villages there, but in the areas of the clan complex [stammen-complex] Pata-siwa-hitam there is another structure outside the village, the bailéo pemali, the prohibited, sacred bailéo.

C 575 All male members of the Pati-siwa-hitam have to join (or had to until a very short time ago) the Kakéan or Kakian association, for which the bailéo-pemali is the meeting house or clubhouse. The joining involves a member of ceremonies, the chief

C [796 776] significance of which seems to be the idea that the adepts are killed by one or another of the spirits in the bailéo and then are restored to life again by the priest. When he returns to his village from the bailéo it is as though he were reborn. "They have no knowledge of anything, do not understand anything; they have even forgotten their own language, and their speech is a succession of sounds and murmurings. If they have to hold out a leaf to receive food, they hold it aslant so that the food falls off; when they come through a door, [417] they walk backward; they attempt to grasp fire with their hands, staring around questioningly" (1).

1. According to information from the curate H. Krayer van Aalst in: T.J. Bezemer, Door Nederlandsch-Oost-Indië,